20¢ JANUARY 9, 1950

New Republic

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE: ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS, ITS CHANCES IN CONGRESS

RACE WAR IN CHICAGO

By WILLIAM PETERS

NEW REVOLT IN THE NMU

By DOROTHY DAY

CECIL SMITH DISCUSSES MESSIAEN'S NEW SYMPHONY

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2. A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere
3. Unusual bleeding or discharge
4. Any change in a wart or mole
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6. Persistent hoarseness or cough
7. Any change in normal bowel habits

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

HARRY TRUMAN stands before Congress this week—the little man from Independence, Missouri, to whom the world listens. The scene is the refurbished chamber of the House of Representatives. Seats for the Senators are reserved in front. The Speaker raps his gavel, the House members arise and clap politely, and from the rear swinging doors the Senators troop in two by two, some tall, some short, some homespun, some pompous; they come in smiling and waving like seniors entering for the first assembly after the holidays. They are seated, and then are ushered in the members of the Supreme Court—four of them Truman appointees and including, many people think, some of the weakest members in the high tribunal's history.

Finally, a voice cries: "The President of the United States." Yes, that's our Harry—entering with his joint escort and coming down smiling, in double-breasted suit and neat handkerchief while the spectators in the galleries crane and the good-natured applause rises from all sides, and every Congressman casts a searching look to get a quick appraisal of the man who will be theoretical leader and chief antagonist till next summer. Then the actual election campaign starts.

And what is the situation as Truman starts the new political year?

Superpower USA is pitted against Superpower USSR. We have done fairly well in Europe and taken a bad defeat in Asia. With the struggle going full tilt, there is some doubt whether bipartisan foreign policy can be preserved. As he speaks, Truman can pick out the Wherrys and the Capeharts below him who are isolationists—but he doesn't; he is too busy with his collar and his speech.

He faces a Congress nominally run by his own party. Owing to rotten boroughs, overrepresentation of farm areas and predominance of local issues in choosing representatives, it is really a Congress upon which he cannot count. He and they know he is trying to establish a record for next autumn's election, a record on key issues like the Brannan farm plan, Taft-Hartley, health insurance, federal aid to education and civil-rights legislation by which the voters can judge.

Well, that's the way the political year starts. Truman lacks stature, tends to surround himself with party hacks, can never quite bring himself to coöperate fully with the GOP on foreign policy, fears fast-talking men with brains. On the other hand, if Truman were a bigger man he probably would have more trouble with Congress than he does; he doesn't frighten it the way FDR did.

This year's census will shift about 14 House seats from state to state. The spectacular development will be the eight seats California will gain. New York loses three seats, Pennsylvania two, and North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas and Oklahoma, one each. Six states will probably gain one seat each: Florida, Texas, Indiana, Michigan, Washington and Oregon. Significance? There will be all sorts of new gerrymandering of districts; the rural South will be a little less powerful; the energetic West Coast will have 10 more seats. This means greater emphasis on reclamation and power projects, greater interest in the Orient, more importance for usually Democratic California in Presidential elections.

Early next month the three chiefs of staff will discuss the "battle of Formosa" direct with General MacArthur. The issue is complex, but crucial. India has recognized the new pro-Communist Chinese government; Britain will

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do so any day now. The Chiang residue government is entrenching itself on Formosa, and pro-Chiang Republican Senators like Taft of Ohio, Knowland of California and Smith of New Jersey, plus the Scripps-Howard and Luce press, want him supported there. The strategic question is whether Formosa is vital to American defense.

Back of the immediate issue of Formosa is the long-range problem. Secretary Acheson believes it folly to think that Asiatic nationalism can be halted—that, in fact, coöperation with the national governments of India, Indonesia, Pakistan and the like is the key requirement of combating the spread of Communism. Last-ditch American support of the ousted Chiang regime in Formosa would leave the US isolated, not only from India and Indonesia, but from Britain, Australia, New Zealand and probably Canada. The State Department is being badly hammered on this issue; indeed, it is not certain that the bipartisan foreign policy can survive the controversy.

Notes. The big federal deficit means finer sifting of income-tax returns on the theory that billions now go uncollected. The wealth-conscious 80th Congress cut down the staff of special revenue agents, ostensibly for "economy"; now the Treasury's forces are back near peak strength. It will be a bad year to try to dodge tax payments. Incidentally, $1 spent for collection normally yields a $20 return. . . . Returning Representatives report disturbing local suspicions of the personal honesty of Congressmen following the jailing of Thomas and May.

The House Armed Services Committee will issue a report soon on the B-36 controversy, largely taking the Air Force's side; it should be a blow to the embattled Navy's prestige. . . . Veterans' insurance-dividend checks start out this month and will reach nearly $3 billion—another big inflationary factor with an unbalanced budget. . . . A big FTC crackdown on the American Dental Trade Association for price-fixing should take some of the bite out of dentist bills.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Catholic Vote

SIR: In attempting to dispel the apprehension over Catholic unprogressive influence in our political life, Alfred Baker Lewis (Correspondence, the *NR*, December 26) cites the liberal Catholic voting record in Congress. To accept this as an indicator of a progressive Catholic trend is to ignore our complicated political line-up, the liberal-labor-farmer coalition in the Democratic Party, the high percentage of urban Catholic labor, party loyalty and the political context in which this liberal Catholic voting operates. . . . A Catholic representing a mixed constituency, voting on both laical and clerical issues against his liberal Administration, is often courting political suicide. Yet, even here the federal-aid-to-education bill, a Church-State issue, was under the impact of Catholic pressure, blocked from being enacted into law in the lower House.

What concerns us most is the direction in which Catholic political currents flow both under normal conditions and hierarchical pressure. The acid test of a Catholic liberalism lies in the laboratory of the Catholic constituency as a whole and on issues where Church and State happen to collide. The deep reduction in Senator Herbert H. Lehman's majority in New York City on a clear-cut issue of progressivism v. conservatism, even after the publicly declared "truce" between Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. Roosevelt, the failure of the above-mentioned education bill and the submission to papal pressure in the decision on internationalization of Jerusalem are symptoms none too conducive to political ease and complacency.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

Food Is Not Enough

SIR: Having established the Atlantic Pact and a policy of "containment" to defend ourselves with military and economic power, we are in a position to advance one of the strongest proposals ever to present itself at such a strategic moment in human history: namely, the "bold new program" for the improvement of the world's underdeveloped areas. Important as is our policy of "containment" toward Communism in thus establishing security by counter military powers, we have been inactive in establishing the power resident in the democratic way of life; and perhaps the most defensible and fundamental objective of any program of aid to other cultures is the strengthening of democratic forces wherever they may be.

Two bills presently in House committee—the Kee Bill, H. R. 5615, and the Herter Bill, H. R. 6026—place extreme emphasis upon material welfare as the adequate guarantee of democratic institutions, whereas the identical faith in economic and material well-being has produced an alternative society—Communism. Therefore, we cannot assume that to raise a standard of living will automatically produce a democratically free people. In order that we adequately guarantee an extensive program of aid, both public and private, the "bold new program" or Point Four must include positive democratic, educational and cultural assistance as well as technical aid to be an effective instrument to use in this time of mass starvation and ideological warfare.

The values to be achieved for underdeveloped areas and for ourselves through economic and technical assistance are dependent upon a parallel development in political and social programs that support a democratic way of life. The investors of the United States, small or large, may ask this of the program whether or not US monies be administered through the UN or a US commission, for we mobilize less than our full strength when we rely upon economic aid alone to bolster our values. Unless this fact is understood, nations may go by default. China is proof. It is only through this suggested revision of legislation that Point Four can contribute to the formation of a positive foreign policy.

New York City OTTO KRASH

Decent Security

SIR: I am pleased to see the *New Republic* trying its hand on the very important job of thinking up some feasible plan for overhauling our social-security system. But I think there is public need for some much less complicated plan than the one the *New Republic* has proposed. Organized labor has at least rendered a service in rebelling against offering workers an average of $26-a-month retirement income and calling it social security.

I hope the present Congress is going to wake up to the fact that the $45 a month the House bill proposes is going to be resented. But it seems to me that we've got to find some halfway position between a $12 billion cost of $100 a month for everybody and the present system, which was hurriedly whipped together in the hectic days of the early New Deal.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW,
Minister, The People's Church
Cincinnati, Ohio

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1832, NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 9, 1950 **New Republic**

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S State of the Union message is a strong and affirmative statement of America's goals. Its intention is to win legislation from a Congress in which liberalism is in a minority and internationalism is in retreat. Yet it points the way for 50 years ahead.

In the next 50 years, the President points out, our national income can rise fourfold to $1,000 billion a year. The average income for Americans, which has risen from $2,000 to $4,000 since 1900, can rise to $10,000 a year. These levels of income are not set forth as statistical estimates of what we might achieve, but as the attainable objectives which we shall set out to reach.

Two assumptions guide the President: First, that competitive enterprise is still an expanding force; second, that this force can be stabilized and sustained by social legislation without weakening its basic drive. Once the role of government in maintaining full employment is accepted, the capacity of competitive enterprise to raise productivity by three percent a year can be freed from the curse of overaccumulation and the threat of abundance. The upward course of America's economy can change in the second half of the century from a jagged line to a continuous curve.

In accordance with this affirmative approach, world Communism shifts, in the President's message, from an all-absorbing menace to a challenge which heightens the performance of democracy.

There has been a danger that President Truman, in this campaign year, would subordinate international aid to domestic politics. That certainly is the present intent of the Republican Party. Instead, the President has reversed the traditional order in his message, placing his international programs first, in recognition of the fight they face.

For ECA, the Administration is asking $3.1 billion for the coming fiscal year, a cut of 25 percent below the present appropriation. Republicans and diehard Democrats are threatening to cut this sum by $1 billion and to make the ECA a surplus-dumping program. Any such changes will break up European unity, widen the dollar gap at a critical moment, and force every European nation back toward protective controls.

The *ITO Charter*, at the moment, stands ahead of other legislation on the State Department list. Failure to ratify the three-year-old charter this year may well destroy it altogether.

The *Point Four Program* is before Congress principally in the form of technical assistance. Hearings have been held on the Administration's Kee bill, which provides $35 million for technical assistance and for increased government lending. The Herter bill, in contrast, stresses government underwriting of business investment without supervision. The backers of the Herter bill are now attempting to force the Administration to incorporate its principles into the Kee bill as the price of passage this year.

The *Displaced Persons* bill sought by the President increases the numbers of DPs eligible for admission to America from 205,000 in two years to 339,000 in three years. It passed the House last year and was blocked in the Senate Judiciary Committee by Senator McCarran (D, Nev.).

The *UN* was given great emphasis by Truman. As he spoke, however, agents of General Franco were negotiating with the Export-Import Bank for a loan of $70 million for purchases of wheat. This deal, which would violate the UN resolution on Franco and undermine all our efforts in Europe, is strongly backed in Congress by Republicans, Catholics and the cotton and tobacco blocs. This powerful group threatens to appropriate funds directly for Franco, or to withhold funds from ECA unless we bail Franco out.

In his domestic program, the President recalled only the fragments of his anti-inflation program and placed little stress on additional full-employment legislation, although unemployment may rise to five million or more this year. Otherwise the President asks point by point for reënactment of his 1948 campaign pledges.

In *Social Security*, the message reflected the impact of the CIO pension victories on social security and called for strengthening of the unemployment-compensation laws. He did not ask for Senate passage of the social-security bill passed by the House in 1949. This bill gives less coverage than his original proposal and there is hope of broadening the House bill in joint conference or in the Senate Finance Committee.

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On *Civil Rights*, the President rightly placed no priorities on his own program. Civil-rights groups have insisted, however, that the FEPC be considered first. They recognize that Republicans who will vote for legislation which affects only the South will oppose the FEPC. But they argue that maximum support can be obtained for the FEPC precisely because it undertakes to improve conditions in every American community. They add that any civil-rights measure will be met with a full-scale filibuster and that if 64 votes cannot be mustered for closure, then at least the hypocrisy of the Wherry closure rule will be exposed. The FEPC will provide an early and bitter fight. So far, very little has been done to rally public opinion behind it.

On *Health*, the President calls for his full program. His hospital-construction bill was passed in 1949, and further bills, for aid to medical schools and public health authorities, are ready for passage.

On *Housing*, the President emphasizes the need for housing for the middle-income families living on $2,400 to $4,100 a year. He calls for a vigorous program to aid coöperatives and other non-profit organizations to build middle-income housing. Such a bill will soon be ready for Senate action, and hearings and debate in the House can follow soon after.

On *Education*, the President calls again for passage of legislation granting federal aid. Last year, a measure passed the Senate for health services in public, private and parochial schools. It was anticipated that, in return, Catholics would not block passage of federal aid for public-school education. Three hundred million dollars was voted, 53-15, by the Senate. It was blocked in the House Education and Labor Committee by John Lesinski (D, Mich.), with the support of John McCormack (D, Mass.), the Majority Leader. Without personal intervention by the President, McCormack and Lesinski will probably block it for another year.

On *Resource Development*, the President asks approval of the CVA and the St. Lawrence projects. The St. Lawrence plan has been throttled by combined opposition of the utilities, the gulf ports and the railroad and coal miners' unions. But hearings have been held on the CVA in both Senate and House and action is possible on at least this much regional development this year.

On *Labor*, the President repeats his call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. He does not spell out the legislation he wants. The unions have acknowledged that new legislation must wait on the 1950 elections.

On *Agriculture*, the President recommends improvements in the present law, pointing out the need for changes to benefit the consumer. Farmers and the government are planning next year's crops under the Anderson bill. But approval of the Brannan Plan this year is necessary for 1951.

The President's Fair Deal program stands unchanged. The obstacles to the program which developed in the first session of the 81st Congress are also unchanged. On 21 out of 65 party-line votes in the House in 1949 the Administration lost because of the number of Democratic members, mostly Southerners, who bolted to vote with the Republicans. In the Senate, the Democrats lost 36 important roll-call votes because of defections from their own ranks. This year the Democratic margin, including 26 Southerners, is only 11, despite the gain of two seats previously held by Republicans from New York and Connecticut. In the House 143 non-Southern Democrats face 170 Republicans and 118 Southern Democrats who will form a substantial conservative majority.

This year, in addition, primary elections for the Senate and House begin at the end of April. The Senate Majority Leaders, Scott Lucas and Francis Myers, are up for reëlection and face nip-and-tuck campaigns. For these reasons adjournment is likely within five to six months. This pressure of time on an overburdened Congress gives greater power than ever to filibusters and threats of filibusters. Under the new closure "reform rule" of Senator Kenneth Wherry (R, Neb.) the filibuster has gained in its destructive potential. For under the old rule 33 Senators could elect to close debate, whereas today closure requires 64 votes.

Administration leaders are hopeful that Democratic victories in the November elections will mean some improvement in their strength as against the coalition. Large numbers of Republicans and Southern Democrats recognize that the Welfare State was the real issue of those contests, and some of those facing challenges in the 1950 election may shift their course in this session. Fifty-two Democratic members of the present House were elected to their seats by no more than five percent of the vote in 1948. Where these men have not stood by the President's program, the door will be wide open for Fair Deal challengers in the primaries. The 58 House Republicans who won by no more than five percent of the vote in 1948 may side with the Democrats occasionally, as this session advances, to offset the threat of Democratic opposition in the fall.

Majority Republican opinion, however, is hardening behind Wherry's insistence on a record of obstruction on all issues, and the insistence of Senator Taft that overseas aid and welfare be sacrificed to the ikons of conservative finance. Behind the slogan of a balanced budget and no new taxes, an irresponsible opposition

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intends to weaken the Administration at home and abroad, even if it means weakening the nation.

For these reasons, the chances for new legislation depend largely on what the Center group of moderate Southerners will accept. Legislation to curb monopoly and to develop resources has been acceptable to these Southerners, and should lead to passage of the basing-point bill and the CVA this year. The middle-income housing bill of Senator Sparkman should also be passed early in the session. The struggle on FEPC which will follow may delay legislation for social security, unemployment compensation and rent control, but all the oratory that will pour from Capitol Hill will not end Southern support for these measures. The needs of Italians and Indonesians may seem less urgent to men watching developments in home-town precincts. Short-sighted men, watching stock-exchange ticker tape, may assume that we can afford to let up in the long struggle to secure reconstruction abroad and stability at home. If they have their way, they will soon be proved wrong. Confidence is justified; a casual, carefree attitude is not. If foreign aid is slashed, and welfare subordinated to politics, the resulting setback to world democracy and the rising unemployment rolls in America will make Truman's hopeful speech read like benighted optimism before the year's end.

THE WEEK

CHINA MUDDLE (Cont'd)

The days just before the New Year saw developments come crowding, as to the familiar problem of what to do about Communist China. Chief among them were these:

¶ India recognized Mao Tse-tung's regime. Great Britain is about to do so, followed by most of the rest of the Empire and the sterling bloc—at least 15 nations.

¶ General MacArthur is pushing hard for US military defense of the island of Formosa, now Chiang Kai-shek's last stronghold. MacArthur argues that Formosa in Communist hands would endanger US communications between Japan and adjacent islands, on the one hand, and Southeast Asia, on the other, and that Philippine air bases could be bombed from Formosa.

¶ It is clear that once Red China has been recognized by the British and the Russian groups of countries, her spokesmen will sit in the United Nations, including the Security Council, unless we exercise our veto. We have repeatedly attacked Russia for doing this.

¶ It is also clear that a peace treaty with Japan, which the US wants, will be much more difficult, with a hopeless deadlock over which faction should represent China in the negotiations.

¶ The democratic world is supposed to be united in an anti-Communist crusade. But with the United States standing alone among the chief powers against recognition of Mao Tse-tung, the great crusade begins to wear a very funny look, so far as Asia is concerned.

After chewing over all these problems at great length, the President and his advisers came up with a policy which could hardly be called a policy at all, since it is merely a continuation of past actions which have satisfied no one and got us nowhere. The Communists are not to be recognized—for the present. Aid to Chiang will be continued—for the present. But it will be on such a limited scale that it will probably be useless even in military terms, to say nothing of the degree to which it alienates the Chinese (and presumably the Formosans), who see Chiang as the puppet of a foreign power. Some time soon, we are sending an aircraft carrier to the Western Pacific; just what effect that is supposed to have, nobody in Washington was rash enough to say.

The real decision on China is yet to be made. It is not helped by reckless, inflammatory statements like those of 75-year-old former President Hoover and Senator Taft. Both of them want us to go to war, if necessary, in order to keep the Communists out of Formosa. Hoover wants us to bolster up Chiang a little longer; Taft is not certain whether we should do this or should make Formosa independent. In either case their statements are shocking in the last degree. They do not represent official Republican policy. All they can really do is to disturb deeply the leaders of other nations who are well aware that the United States would not and could not implement the Hoover-Taft proposals with the necessary billions of dollars and millions of lives.

WORLD FEDERATION

The advocates of world government as the only road to world peace will have a chance to put their case before Congress early this year. Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D, Utah) has announced that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold public hearings on the several proposals for strengthening the United Nations through a world federation of governments. Increasing anxiety caused by the cold war, as well as action on the part of many state legislatures, has increased public interest in the proposals.

So far, six state legislatures—California, Connecticut, Florida, Maine, New Jersey and North Carolina—have passed bills of a binding nature, cali-

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ing for a constitutional amendment to provide for United States entry into a world government. Twenty-two other states have passed some form of legislation: the Humber resolution, named for Robert Lee Humber of North Carolina, which is simply a statement in favor of the principle of a world federation; or referenda resolutions to take the issue to the voters. In 1946 the voters of Massachusetts and, last year, the voters of Connecticut overwhelmingly favored the proposal. This year, referenda will be held in Florida, Maryland and Oklahoma.

Last fall 22 Senators attached their names to a resolution asking the President to invite North Atlantic Pact nations to a conference to discuss the prospects of establishing a "federal union." The resolution is part of the program of the Atlantic Union Committee, headed by former Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts. Another resolution advocated by the World Federationists and backed by 19 Senators declares that the goal of US foreign policy should be to strengthen the United Nations and "seek its development into a world federation" with defined powers to enforce peace by international law. Senator Thomas and Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) are sponsoring an international pact intended to overcome the paralyzing effect of the Security Council veto. Excluding duplications, 39 Senators are sponsoring some plan or other in this general direction. The State Department is now studying each of the proposals and has been asked to submit a full report to Congress this year.

"What other new models have you got?"

THE COAL DISPUTE

The Southern coal operators, in a desperate effort to throw the coal dispute into the government's lap, have resorted to the temporary-injunction provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The charges, filed with the National Labor Relations Board, accused John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of refusing to bargain in good faith on a new contract and of using coercion, through the three-day work-week, to force the operators to accept an illegal contract. The operators have urged the NLRB to seek a court injunction to end the short work-week in the mines.

The action of the Southern operators, seconded by spokesmen for Northern and Western mine owners, came as no great surprise. The management walked out of negotiations at Bluefield, West Virginia, and White Sulphur Springs, expecting President Truman to intercede in their behalf. Instead, the President refused, pointing out that there was no "national emergency." (If the President finds the public health and safety threatened, he can appoint a board of inquiry and, after it makes a preliminary report, direct the Attorney General to seek an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act.) According to figures of the Bureau of Mines, there is an adequate coal supply. The three-day work-week produces from 8.5 to 9 million tons of soft coal per week (normal production is about 12 million tons). The short week has lowered miners' income, undermined efficient operation in mechanized pits and led the ICC to ration coal for the railroads. But so far it has not created a national emergency.

The approach to the injunction, in the charges filed with the NLRB, is different from the one that was urged on President Truman. The operators charge that Lewis violated two T-H provisions by refusing to bargain in good faith and interfering with the employers' selection of their bargaining agent. (The operators contend that the union's efforts to sign up individual companies are a move to split the Southern Coal Producers Association.)

Robert Denham, general counsel of the NLRB, may ask for, and get, a temporary injunction against the union until the charges are tried and judged by the National Labor Relations Board. How broad the injunction will be is up to the court. But it conceivably could restrain the union from using the three-day week or a similar device. The restraining order might direct Lewis and the union to bargain in good faith with the Southern operators and to cease instigating or supporting an illegal strike (should the court decide that the short work-week is actually a limited strike).

Negotiations between the workers and the operators have been at a standstill for the past two months. The talks collapsed at Bluefield on November 2 when the operators walked out of the conference room. Lewis is demanding an increase of 95 cents a day in the basic wage and an increase of 15 cents a ton in the operators' payments to the union welfare fund, making a total of 35 cents on each ton produced. The mine workers have signed up an undisclosed number of independent soft-coal mines to the new contract. In return these mines are permitted to operate five or six days a week, while the unsigned mines are limited to the three-day week.

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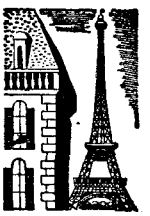
OUTSIDE AMERICA

French critics of every literary taste and political complexion have competed with one another in acclaiming a recent novel—*The Twenty-fifth Hour*, by C. Virgil Gheorghiu, a Rumanian. The book is not a particularly good work of art; on the contrary, it is rather poorly written, organized and translated. Nor is the author's personal background the sort to make him lionized among the men who dominate French literary criticism; there are apparently well-founded rumors that he was a militant reactionary and even a member of the infamous Rumanian Iron Guard.

Yet few books since the end of the war have had such an immediate, general, sensational success as *The Twenty-fifth Hour*. The important critic Gabriel Marcel has stressed its "truth." He finds its fictional aspects "almost negligible," but does not think "one can find a more significant work." In Jean-Paul Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes*, perhaps the best literary monthly on the political Left in France, Jean-H. Roy points out that the critics "almost unanimously" have seen in Gheorghiu's novel "the fundamental testimony of our epoch."

The novel tells two interwoven stories of the last dozen years. The first is about a Rumanian peasant, a primitive, unthinking, entirely good and completely honest man who is the innocent victim of injustice and persecution, who is taken from one internment camp to another, who suffers at the hands of the Rumanians, the Germans, the Russians, the Americans, and never succeeds in understanding why. The second story is about a Rumanian intellectual, a poet and man of the highest culture, who, suffering similarly and equally unjustly, is able, however, to draw general lessons from his experiences, lessons which form a terrible commentary on our time—the twenty-fifth hour of the civilization of the Western world.

The main reason for the success of the book is that its exaggerations—in the comments of the intellectual victim, though not in the experiences of either of the victims—fit into the state of mind of a growing number of Western Europeans, especially in France. The book is saturated with hopelessness and defeatism; it is bitterly anti-Communist but even more bitterly and passionately anti-American. The world, it says, is still full of inhumanities of man to man, the postwar world as much as the prewar and wartime world, and the Americans are even more to blame than the Communists. A few excerpts will give the tone of the poet's comments:



The third world war is not a war of the West against the East. It is a revolution in the framework of Western technical society, an internal revolution exclusively Western. The real East—the Orient—does not participate in it. Russia became after the Communist Revolution the most advanced branch of Western technical civilization; Russia took all its theories from the West, merely put them into practice; it reduced man to a zero, transformed society into a huge machine as it had learned from the West. It imitated the West as only a barbarian and savage could; everything in the Soviet Union except the thirst for blood, and fanaticism, comes from the West. . . .

The Americans do not recognize that we exist. Western civilization in its final phase does not recognize the individual. We exist only as tiny fractions of categories in accordance with the rules of multiplication, division, subtraction. The interests of Western society are not the interests of men. Mathematics, statistics, logic tell as much about a human life as about a concert by Beethoven or Mozart. In the Western technical society men now live, as did the early Christians, in the catacombs, the prisons, the ghettos, on the fringes of life. The men who remain men are forced to hide themselves; they have not the right to appear in public. We are dehumanizing ourselves. The laws of the machine are being promoted to the rank of social laws. Our culture has disappeared. It had three qualities: it loved and respected beauty, a habit it got from the Greeks; it loved and respected law, a habit it got from the Romans; it loved and respected man, a habit it got quite late and with great difficulty from the Christians. . . .

It is a comment on the widening gap of misunderstanding between the Western Europeans and the Americans that French critics should hail as "the fundamental testimony of our epoch" a novel which treats the "dangers" which America presents as in the same category—if not in a worse—as those of Communism. It is also a comment on what has happened to the once famous French lucidity and sense of proportion that the "testimony" of a former Iron Guardist imprisoned by the Americans should be given as much weight as that of David Rousset, the authentic man of good will and veteran prisoner of the Nazi, who recently issued the appeal for an impartial international inquiry into the Soviet forced-labor camps. Gheorghiu's book is in fact more successful than Rousset's *The Days of Our Death*.

The present state of mind in continental Western Europe, especially in France and among French intellectuals (who have far more influence than in any other country), is being noted with concern on the other side of the English Channel, no longer the barrier it once was to the passage of thoughts and feelings. The Manchester *Guardian*, for example, mentions the "sense of French weakness and inefficacy" and remarks that few Frenchmen, outside the Communist Party, think France can again become a great power. Going farther than that liberal English view, the Conservative London *Economist* refers to "an extraordinary incoherence and defeatism in the French body politic," to the "uncertainty and sense of shapelessness," to the "confused, lifeless, shifting mass of opinion," and has pleaded with Englishmen to make an effort to understand the reasons, lest England "lose a valuable ally."

PERCY WINNER

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RACE WAR IN CHICAGO

by William Peters

AARON BINDMAN is the 30-year-old secretary-treasurer of Local 208, Warehouse and Distribution Workers, CIO. Last October he moved into an apartment in the house at 5643 South Peoria Street, in Chicago's South Side Englewood district. He had bought the two-flat building with a friend of his, another union man who occupied the second apartment.

Less than 30 days after Bindman moved his family into the new home, he saw angry mobs threatening him from the street; heard himself and his family reviled as "Communists," "kikes" and "nigger-lovers"; heard the crash of his windows under a barrage of rocks and bricks; and saw his daughter being followed and molested going to and from school.

What had Aaron Bindman done to incur the wrath of his new neighborhood? He had committed what was, *and is*, to his Irish Catholic neighbors, an unforgivable sin: he had invited Negroes into his home.

On the evening of Tuesday, November 8, Bindman received at his home a group of local CIO officials and their wives to meet an executive officer who was in Chicago from Hawaii for a CIO convention. Some of those local officials were colored.

Within an hour or two, the neighborhood was aroused. Negroes had been seen entering "the house that those two union fellows bought." The house was being "shown to niggers." Since a home in this formerly lily-white neighborhood had been purchased the week before by a Negro family, the rumor had a ring of truth.

But how could an entire neighborhood be aroused to action in so short a time? The answer lies partly in the fact that this was more than a neighborhood; this was a parish—a parish, it might be added, in which a number of City Hall payrollers resided.

And it was a parish peculiarly organized against just such an event. For years this parish of the Roman Catholic Visitation Church had felt a gnawing fear of encroachment on the part of Chicago's expanding nonwhite population.

Throughout the parish a block system had been organized, with "block captains" on guard to report a sale or contemplated sale to a Negro. A ringing challenge from the pulpit of an Englewood church was reported as follows: "We will organize the people of this church, block by block, to prevent the residence here of persons whom we do not want in Englewood!"

That Tuesday night in November, Englewood's block system worked well. At 10:30, the block captain and another man appeared at the head of a large crowd in front of Bindman's house. They demanded that the Negroes leave. Bindman explained the occasion of their presence, and the rumor that he was showing the house to Negroes was scotched. Or so he thought.

Bindman's explanation, however, failed to satisfy the angry parish block captain. He insisted that the Negroes immediately leave not only the house but the neighborhood. When he backed up his insistence by threats, Bindman called the police.

Thus began a five-night siege such as Chicago has not seen in some time. Police—from the two who answered Bindman's first request to the 400 or more who were called out Friday and Saturday nights—made no effort, until the very end, to disperse the crowds even when the Bindman home was under attack by stones hurled from directly across the street. Some policemen, many of whom lived in the area and were thus facing their friends in the mob, were observed to be friendly and even encouraging to the mobsters.

One incident, reported by an observer of the Illinois Interracial Commission, an advisory body to Governor Adlai Stevenson, serves to give the general picture. The report relates that one policeman was heard advising the mob that their method was faulty. "Go home," he said, "and then come back after we've left."

Another incident so antagonized the Chicago *Daily News*—like the other Chicago dailies engaged until then in withholding and playing down the news—that it ran a short editorial:

> . . . A policeman explained to one of our reporters that one batch were [sic] properly beaten because they were Communists.
>
> "How do you know they were Communists?" the reporter inquired.
>
> "Because they were Jews," the policeman explained.

There were incidents and facts galore to show that the police were criminally negligent in their duty to preserve the peace and protect civil rights. The affair showed the results of the collapse of civil control.

Innocent people, in some cases wholly unaware of the nature of the disturbance, were allowed to be beaten by the mob, sometimes in plain sight of police-

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men. One man was arrested for disturbing the peace after being beaten bloody by hoodlums. He was placed "by mistake" in the same cell as the five hoodlums arrested with him, and two of the young mobsters were allowed to put the finishing touches on their victim while the other three sang loudly to cover up the cries of pain. After sufficient time had elapsed, a police officer arrived to say, "Sorry we locked you up together. My mistake."

As the publication of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination reported this incident, bail for the hoodlums was later set at $10 apiece. Bail for the victim: $25.

The numerous gangs of youthful hoodlums that roamed the streets during the five nights of terror had little difficulty identifying their proposed victims. Always the question to a stranger was the same: "What parish are you from?" A wrong answer or no answer at all was the signal for a beating.

Labels flew thick and fast. Outsiders were always "Communists," "University of Chicago Yid Communists," "nigger-loving kikes." What had started as a primarily anti-Negro demonstration quickly turned into an anti-Semitic and anti-outsider brawl. It did not take the mob long to learn that Aaron Bindman, the hated symbol of its anger, was a Jew.

Accurate reports by the observers of a fair number of civic groups read like wartime communiqués:

Tuesday, November 8. Fifty to sixty people gathered in front of Bindman home and remained. No attempt at dispersal. Threats of burning the home. Negro guests escorted out of area by police. People on the street until early morning.

Wednesday, November 9, 8:30 p.m. Four patrolmen and sergeant facing 75 people in front of Bindman home. Nine-thirty p.m. Crowd had swelled to about 200. Loud anti-Negro shouting. Stones flying sporadically. No windows broken as yet. No arrests. No attempt to disperse the mob. Ten-thirty p.m. Total police now about 15. Anti-Semitic shoutings. Meeting of previous night now called Communist gathering. Word passed around that Monsignor Burns of parish had said he would buy any piece of property in neighborhood before he would allow a Negro to move in. Also rumor that Mayor Kennelly had said the police would no longer protect Negroes moving into areas where they were not wanted.

Thursday, November 10, 7:50 p.m. Three policemen and sergeant facing mob of about 200. Number of obvious agitators in crowd. Police talking in friendly way to crowd. When agitators succeeded in getting mob to move on house, observer (for the American Civil Liberties Union, in this case) convinced sergeant that it was time to call for reinforcements. Five squad cars arrived soon. Crowd held in check before house. Leading agitator taken into custody and placed in squad car but allowed to proceed with instructions to crowd from car. Ten p.m. Crowd had doubled. Estimated 400. Inadequate police protection. No attempt to disperse crowd. Teen-agers set up chant, "Let's drive them out!" Eleven p.m. Some 30 police on duty. No attempt to disperse crowd, despite throwing of rocks at house. Mob turning on "outsiders" in street. Looking for Jewish victims. Violence spreading through neighborhood.

Friday, November 11. Estimate 400 police on duty. Too late. Gangs of youthful hoodlums scouring area for victims. Anti-Semitic filth being shouted around area. Number of persons, including one Negro, badly beaten. Observer (Illinois Interracial Commission) easily spotted a tall, gray-headed man wearing horn-rimmed spectacles who seemed to be acting as finger man of mob. Tavern at 57th Street and Halstead, near the scene, filled during evening with people listening to radio tuned to police frequency. All orders to police in area heard.

Eleven-thirty p.m. Police Emergency Plan No. 3 put into effect. Plan calls for about 15 cars of police. Shortly after, orders given to institute Emergency Plan No. 5, called disaster plan. All reserves in that part of city called out. Assaults on house. Broken windows. Crowd pushed back across street. Police arrest victims along with hoodlums. Ten arrests. Mobs roamed streets until four a.m.

Saturday, November 12. Violence continued, retarded somewhat by increased police activity and sudden weather change with some rain and lower temperatures. About 35 arrests made in evening.

As usual in the case of an actual war, there was a story behind the story told in these terse reports.

It went back to the fact that during and since the war about 100,000 Negroes had moved into Chicago at a time when the housing shortage was tighter than it had ever been. It went back to riots at the Airport Homes and Fernwood housing projects in 1946 and 1947, where the entrance of Negroes into city projects was contested by violence.

The story, in a way, went back, too, to the decision of the US Supreme Court that racial restrictive covenants were not enforceable in the courts. That decision, hailed by many, was apparently regarded by the advocates of segregation as ruling out all other tactics than force.

More immediately, the story went back to Chicago's Mayor Kennelly, who has allowed the housing crisis to build in intensity without decisive action. Kennelly must also be charged with a dismal failure to orient his police in dealing with racial disorders. He can be credited, also, with torpedoing a proposed city ordinance which would have set city policy as non-discriminatory in publicly aided housing.

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Under all of the violence on South Peoria Street, under the refusal of the police to disperse the mobs, there was another important factor. Chicago's Commission on Human Relations, set up by law to advise the Mayor and all city departments, was powerless in this latest riot. At best, Kennelly's administration has only tolerated the Commission. In this case, the break was complete. The failure was exemplified by a personal falling out between the Commission's executive director and Police Commissioner John Prendergast. Prendergast reportedly ordered the director out of his office. One might be tempted to ponder a system in which the peace of a city is dependent on a police department that acts as a law unto itself.

Other agencies, mainly civic groups and civil-rights organizations, urged the Mayor to act against this violence. Statements were drafted in the hope that he would issue them in his name. The results were less than satisfactory. The Mayor issued two statements. Commissioner Prendergast issued one. All three did not add up to the weakest statement proposed by any of the groups. Mayor Kennelly, in his first—and weaker—statement, took an easy way out and blamed the whole disturbance on subversives, presumably Communists. Anonymous mimeographed sheets, circulated to the city council, attempted to show that the entire affair was a Communist plot.

Meanwhile, with the recognized civic organizations holding meetings with the Mayor and the Commission on Human Relations, a new group emerged out of the furore, and from the fear in the hearts of Chicago's Negroes. Calling itself the Conference to End Mob Violence in Chicago, it was headed by the executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League.

The new group was spontaneous in origin. At the very outset, it had representatives of more than a hundred civic, fraternal, business, labor, veteran and religious organizations. Two week-end meetings of the Conference have been held, each stressing the fact that the time has come for Negroes to band together in defense of their own civil rights. It is still too early to predict the effect of this new group, but its significance can hardly be overlooked. The Negro community has decided that its civil rights are not safe left in the hands of whites alone.

Weeks after the Peoria Street rioting and with police still detailed in the area, new incidents of violence are in the making. A bomb, thrown into the doorway of a Negro who had recently moved into a formerly all-white neighborhood, was produced at the most recent meeting of the Conference to End Mob Violence.

The Negro related his story, which had a striking similarity to those which had been pouring from the lips of other victims of violence at the meeting. He told of the bombing of his home, the third attempt at violence since he had moved in. On the other two occasions, police had ignored his calls. This time he had called Police Commissioner Prendergast. Six and a half hours later, the Commissioner showed up, warned him of the consequences of taking the law into his own hands, and departed without even taking the bomb as evidence.

What will happen in Chicago unless the city acts aggressively against its racists? Reliable observers have said for two years that a race riot of major proportions is in the cards unless preventive action is taken—and soon. And yet, with the need so great, many civic groups are still pursuing a policy of silence in the press and radio except for carefully-thought-out statements released by themselves. Presumably they feel that the problem is one for the agencies already engaged in this work rather than one for the people of Chicago as a whole. The newspapers and radio have accepted this verdict.

As the director of one of Chicago's leading anti-discrimination civic groups said in private recently, "This flareup is fantastic in its ramifications. It involves prejudice against Negroes, Jews, University of Chicago students, outsiders, everybody and everything. There is evidence of a deliberate guiding spirit. That and other things that I know to be true should not be told generally. They are facts too dangerous to be known indiscriminately."

But many Chicagoans feel that the public deserves to know the facts. A group of lawyers, apparently believing that Chicago's racist hoodlums deserve a sterner fate, appeared one morning recently in court and protested the minor nature of the disorderly-conduct charges against them. They demanded and got 27 informations against specific defendants. The indictments listed the charges as conspiracy to riot, conspiracy to commit a crime, assault and battery, and assault with a weapon. These cases will have to be prosecuted by the State's Attorney of Cook County. His office, it might be added, has been conspicuous by its abstinence from the whole affair.

From the viewpoint of the profession in race relations, Chicago is sitting on a powder keg calmly smoking a cigarette. From the viewpoint of the vast majority of the people of Chicago, there is nothing wrong. With limited sources of information, the man in the street goes blissfully on his way, wholly unaware that a cruel kind of warfare is going on in the no man's land around Chicago's Black Belt.

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BRITAIN'S WELFARE STATE

by Norman MacKenzie

BRITAIN, today, is cited by both critics and admirers as the most advanced example of the Welfare State. Few would deny that the system of social welfare and security created by the Labour Government is its most notable and impressive achievement. It has, it is true, done little more than improve and extend social services already established in principle, either before the war or under the wartime Coalition Government. And the Conservatives are trying to make the most of their claim that they were the real pioneers of all that is best in the Welfare State. But, at the same time, the Tories go on to criticize every one of Labour's social reforms as wastefully extravagant and destructive of individual initiative.

This inconsistency has been forced upon them. They know that it is electorally dangerous to attack the principle of social security, which is probably Labour's greatest political asset, and yet they sincerely believe that cuts in the Welfare State are essential, first as a measure of economy and, second, as a means of restoring proper incentives to a people whose traditional enterprise has been dulled by too much security.

The Tories, therefore, are driven to speak of the Welfare State—as they did at their recent party conference—in general and ambiguous phrases. In their program, *The Right Road for Britain*, they tried to imply that they would maintain welfare benefits at much their same level while "reducing the cost of administering them." They are careful to avoid mentioning any specific cuts—that, Anthony Eden indicated to the party rally, "is the responsibility of the government"—which could be used in evidence against them at the coming election. And they nicely distinguish between "necessary" social services and the "Welfare State" in abstract, which is supposed to be coddling the British into drab and spiritless uniformity.

Nevertheless, the future of Britain's social services is going to be a big issue when the nation goes to the polls. The Labour Party is deeply committed to maintain the advances it has already made, though it has warned increasingly of late that no further extensions or increases in benefits can be expected until output and productivity both go up. When the cake of national wealth is larger, everyone can have larger slices. But the present size of the slices, Labour believes, must not be materially reduced. For social services, and the taxation needed to sustain them, as Sir Stafford Cripps again insisted in his Budget speech earlier this year, "are the best and most certain means of redistributing the national wealth."

What has this Welfare State done so far? Combined with continuing full employment, it has raised the standard of life of millions of people to levels they had never known before. It has, through a comprehensive system of contributory national insurance, provided cash benefits for unemployment, sickness, maternity, widowhood, industrial injuries, old age and death. It supplements these with a weekly cash allowance for all but the first child in every family. The cash payments are not excessive, especially in view of the high cost of living, but they are at least enough to ensure that no citizen shall fall below a minimum standard of life. Next, it has established a universal National Health Service, which offers entirely free medical and dental treatment of all kinds, plus free spectacles, artificial limbs, hearing aids, false teeth and the much-maligned wigs. For all these cash and welfare services, the employed person pays only £12 a year, though, as part of the autumn economies, a small charge is now made for each prescription filled.

The food subsidies, now costing about £500 million a year, are also an integral part of the welfare plan. They permit essential foods to be sold below cost to make sure that basic rations are cheap enough for even the poorest. These represent a net addition to average income of some £10 a year. Their cost is met from taxation.

Apart from these three tangible forms of benefit, there are the educational and housing programs. Already, since the war, the Labour Government has passed the original postwar target of 750,00 homes, thus providing new accommodations for slightly more than two million people, in addition to repairing the four million houses damaged by bombing. But slums remain to be cleared; there are still long waiting lists for houses in every part of the country; and more houses are becoming obsolete or inadequate by present-day standards every year. In spite of a decrease in new construction owing to shortages of timber and to other difficulties, by the end of 1949, new houses were still going up at the rate of 3,500 a week. The

This is the third in a series of four articles on the major issues in the coming British General Election. The author is a member of the staff of the New Statesman and Nation (London).

The fourth article, to appear in the near future, will deal with foreign policy as it affects the campaign.

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significant fact is that about 3,000 a week were being built by public authorities, to be rented to low-income families most in need of better living conditions. Now, as an economy measure, 1950's target has been cut by 400 a week.

The educational reforms implemented by the Labour Party, though it will take time for them to show results, are a step toward greater equality of opportunity. There are flaws in the scheme—notably that it makes the expensive "public" (that is, private) schools more exclusive preserves of the rich than before—but every child is now given the chance of further education up to university graduation, whatever its parents' financial position. By raising the school-leaving age, by training more teachers, by providing freer access to a college career, by building new schools and by a reorganization of the whole educational system, from classroom methods to examination techniques, the Labour Party has opened the way to a more democratic and adequate school system.

The Tories do not seriously challenge the educational reforms. Indeed, they had a part in preparing them during the Coalition. But they believe that raising the school-leaving age, while conscription lasted, has prematurely reduced the supply of juvenile labor. Further, though this is more a sociological matter than a sharp political issue, they are concerned lest too much education reduce the supply of adult industrial labor.

Now what has been the cost of this program of social reforms? In the present financial year, the Treasury will pay out just over £1,000 million for the social services. Of this total, some £500 million represent the cost of food subsidies. Some additional social-welfare expenses are borne by municipal and county authorities. Now this total of £1,000 million is one-tenth of the whole national income and one-third of all state spending. It is a large amount and has only been kept within its present limits by the absence of widespread unemployment. If the number of workless grew to around two million, the average prewar figure, the Treasury would soon have to choose between cutting the scale of benefits or still further increasing the drain on the national revenue. Thus full employment and the Welfare State go hand in hand.

Already, to finance these benefits, taxation must be kept high. If local taxes are excluded, taxation now accounts for more than six of every twenty shillings of income. About half of this total comes from direct taxes on income, business and capital. The remainder is found by indirect taxation, which ranges from heavy imposts on tobacco, through a purchase or sales tax which, on luxuries, runs as high as 100 percent, to betting, auto and radio taxes. The Labour Government has set its face firmly against tax remissions, demanded again by Anthony Eden in his keynote speech at the Conservative congress. It will not destroy its Welfare State. It has to spend nearly as much on rearmament and defense as on the social services. Therefore it has no option but to keep taxation at something like its present level.

Of all this, the Tories make three criticisms. First, they argue that a state of affairs in which the government takes one-third of the national product is inflationary and wasteful. Second, they consider that taxation at such a rate cripples private initiative, by denying enterprise its true reward. Third, they insist that the burden of social services is now so large that it is entering into production costs and thus hampering Britain's attempt to cheapen goods in export markets. The Tories would lighten this burden, as a means of bringing down industrial costs and reducing the cost of government as a whole.

These criticisms are not wholly unfounded. But how would this Tory policy work out in practice? It would cut drastically the food subsidies, allowing foodstuffs to find their own level of prices and consumption, substituting rationing by the purse for rationing by government decree. This would certainly throw a much greater strain on the family budgets of the workers, thus helping to reduce their consumption of other goods. Next, the Tories would make "economies," so far unspecified, in the other social services. It is possible that they might reintroduce some form of fee for medical and dental services. Finally, a Tory Government would reduce taxes on income and profits, thus restoring incentive to the business community, and it might make some small cuts in the purchase tax, as a gesture toward lower living costs.

Since the Tories are no more willing or able than Labour to reduce defense costs, their intended economies can be made nowhere else but in the social benefits of the Welfare State. And since they honestly believe that the Welfare State is steadily corrupting the will to work of the British people, this could be done with the righteous conviction that a Tory Government would be winning back for the British their birthright of rugged effort. Britain would pull down the banner of "Fair Shares" and haul up in its place the Tory flag of "Fair Rewards."

There are, really, two issues here: political and economic. In the election, neither party is going to tell the voters that, if returned to office, it will make life the worse for them. Labour will place the greatest emphasis upon its record of full employment and social

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welfare, and will paint a picture of the misery that would return with the Tories. Already, for an average family of five, the cash value of its welfare benefits is equivalent to an additional income of nearly £3 a week, or close to one-half of the present average wage. The Tories, however, harping on waste, will ask the voter whether he would prefer cheaper beer, cheaper cigarettes and lower taxes, thus getting more money in his pocket, to the more intangible though real rewards offered by the Welfare State. Although the increase in loose cash, for workers, would rapidly be eaten up by rising food prices if food subsidies were cut or scrapped altogether, the Tories believe that a small cash incentive would get more from the worker than the manna which is showered on him regardless of his own effort by a benevolent society. This, at bottom, is the political issue.

The economic problem, however, is rather different. Once the election is over, it is obvious that whichever party wins, further economies must be made in national spending. Labour will seek to limit them, hoping that its long-term plans will eventually greatly increase output and efficiency, if inflation can be held in check for the time being. The wage-freeze, in effect, is the price of full employment. The Tories, on the contrary, will try to prune government expenditure, increase output by bringing back the traditional capitalist incentives of profit and the fear of unemployment, reduce domestic consumption by deflation and thus, simultaneously, cut imports and release more goods for export. They believe that the wage-freeze, before long, would become unnecessary. If enough workers are competing for jobs, "discipline" will be restored in industry.

Neither way offers a sure road to recovery. Each is a gamble. But, next to defense, Labour will cling most resolutely to its full-employment and social-welfare policies. The Tories are convinced that, in the long run, Britain will be ruined by the cost of them. Britain's electors must choose which risk they will take.

NEW REVOLT IN THE NMU

by Dorothy Day

FIRST THERE WAS the International Seamen's Union, whose officers had been holding their jobs at fat salaries for 20 years or more but who ran no hiring halls for the men, held no elections, and signed contracts without any vote from the membership. The IWW and the Marine Workers Industrial Union kept up a steady talk among the men, and by 1936 the seamen were ready for the spontaneous strike that flared up on one ship; they made it a general strike. A leader had been found: Joe Curran, who had the look of a leader, who was young, big, smart enough to know how little he knew and ready to put himself under the guidance of others. The Communist Party was ready to throw lawyers, money for soup kitchens, and general direction into the fight.

That strike in May, 1936, failed, but it made the men realize what they could do, so in October they came out again, and this time they tied up the waterfront for three months. Ships coming in from long voyages were met by delegates, speakers were sent out. Crews donated their salaries and ate in soup kitchens with food donated from the markets.

Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker, was formerly a left-wing journalist in New York City. Though never a member of the Communist Party, she was on the staff of the Masses and the New Masses. After being converted to Catholicism, she was one of the founders, in 1933, of the Catholic Worker. She has written several books, one of which, From Union Square to Rome, tells the story of her conversion. Another book of hers will be published this year by Harpers.

The strikers demanded recognition of the union, collective bargaining, hiring halls, overtime pay, an eight-hour day.

One Chinese crew wrote to the men when immigration laws would not allow them off the ship:

> Dear striking members:
> We are so much sympathized to your striking action. We no doubt members of the same union, accordingly we can make no difference between you and us. . . . Here enclosed the sum of $67.50 as a spiritual and material help, hope you will accept it and support all Brothers of the striking members. . . . Your Chinese Brothers of Sincerity

It was a long struggle. Goon squads, raids on soup kitchens, shutdown of one headquarters on the grounds that the buildings were unsafe, ships sent to sea with crews of "unemployed steeple jacks, piano tuners, shoemakers and sheep herders," as one seaman said, resulting in accidents—all these were features of the strike. It ended in a victory for the men when newly elected officials, the old officials of the ISU, and the shipowners were summoned to Washington before the National Labor Relations Board.

The National Maritime Union officially began in May, 1937, with a constitution in which authority was handed over to a membership referendum ("the highest authority in the union") which was to "vote on all constitutional amendments, election of all officers, powers of officers, all major policy and program de-

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cisions, general strikes, and trial committee decisions on national officers."

The current struggle in the Maritime Union hinges on the constitution, and on whether Joe Curran, still its president, voted in by an enormous majority in 1947 when Communist officials were voted out, is following that constitution or building up another machine.

The 14 New York union patrolmen whose job is to cover ships in and out of New York and handle all arbitration between the ships' officers and the ships' crew, collect dues and settle beefs, were all elected by an anti-Communist convention, together with their port agent, David Drummond. Yet it is now being charged that these men are Communists who are attempting to build up their own machine and take over the funds and property of the national office.

In membership meetings these men carried the majority overwhelmingly when they presented charges against Curran for setting up a dictatorship, taking over the *Pilot*, their official publication, and using funds without consent of the membership.

On September 30, Vice-President D. Warner was appointed by Curran as administrator of the port of New York. The members claim that no such office is provided for in the constitution.

On November 14, Port Agent Drummond was fired by Warner, together with the patrolmen, and the ship owners were notified that the 14 men no longer represent the union. The men refused to be fired and, with some hundred New York seamen, stayed in the hall, as a guard, they said, over union property. On November 17, hundreds of police were called in, under the excuse that violence had broken out. The opposition group admits that "a few lunatics dumped Duffy," one of the three vice-presidents. Duffy was in charge of organization; Drummond and the New York membership claimed that "all he organized were goon squads."

For four days hundreds of police were stationed in the hall, and "books were lifted" from a few score members of the union. The books contain the individuals' records. Without them the men are not able to get into the hall, ship out, attend meetings or vote. The men resisted the confiscation, with the result that they were beaten and thrown out of the hall by Curran's men.

What with police intimidation, the lifting of books and the importation of men from other ports, Joe Curran was able at the December 1 meeting to get a vote endorsing the charges of neglect of duty made against Drummond and the 14 ousted patrolmen. Since then Curran has announced the resignation of Vice-President Jack Lawrenson, who supported Drummond. Lawrenson has been removed from the payroll without the vote of the membership.

As the case stands now, a committee calling itself the Independent Caucus has been set up and a headquarters has been rented in which to hold meetings and carry on the fight.

"Our aim," these men say, "is to stop terrorization, force Curran to recognize us as an opposition group and get him to return the books taken illegally. There will be membership meetings every Thursday night as usual, attended by the men of the port of New York, and Curran will not be able to keep on bringing in men from ports up and down the coast, from Providence to New Orleans. He cannot expect always to have a hundred or so police in attendance at the union hall. And court action is pending."

Of the men who are prominent in the Independent Caucus, two—Drummond and Charlie Keith—fought in Spain against Franco. Both admit to past membership in the Communist Party. Jack Lawrenson also admits to membership and, according to Drummond, was expelled from the Party.

"We fought to get the Party machine out of the union in the 1947 elections and convention," Drummond said, "and now we are fighting against the Curran group which has become a machine. We ousted the Communists according to the constitution, bringing men up on charges, giving them a right to defend themselves, putting the matter to the vote of the membership; then after a fair trial they were out. But with us, the men we put in went completely against the constitution, appointing an administrator, taking over the hall in the dead of the night, setting up cots there, and then claiming that it was us who took over the hall and that we were trying to get them out.

"The one who is using Communist tactics in all this fight is Curran, with his vilification and terrorization of membership, with his goon squads giving the men a working-over who oppose him. Now he is trying to put into the constitution a clause forbidding any of the membership to read any leaflet or pamphlet or paper that has not the union stamp on it. There is thought control for you."

There is a new leadership growing up in the rank and file, a new group of men who have educated themselves and can speak for themselves. They are painfully trying to work out a philosophy of labor that fits America.

How far they will be able to go, in the face of the opposition against them, and how well they will hold together, remains to be seen. But it is a movement to be watched, and to be aided.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *A Dirtier "Dirty Business"*

THE AMERICAN CITIZEN who believes that our fundamental freedoms are so precious that they are worth dying for must have been greatly shocked when it was admitted recently in the Coplon-Gubitchev trial in New York City that Miss Coplon's telephone wires had been tapped so that FBI agents could overhear conversations between her and her lawyer, Archibald Palmer. This was a treacherous and cowardly blow at the liberties that we hold so dear. Neither Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor Franco, nor the Soviet Politburo, has ever sunk lower.

The relationship between client and lawyer is highly privileged. Only the confessional is more sacred. It could be argued that tapping telephone wires to hear what a client may say to his lawyer is a more outrageous offense than violating a confessional, because the wire-tapper might obtain information that could give the prosecuting lawyers an unfair advantage. The FBI has no more right to intercept a conversation between a lawyer and his client, like a sneak thief, than it would have to hide a dictograph in a confessional. Such debased behavior is even worse than the third degree in which policemen sometimes indulge to force the admission of a crime.

This was not the first occasion, even in this sordid case, that the FBIs, who are supposed to be the defenders of the law and relentless pursuers of those who violate it, sneered at the law and cynically ignored it. Previously, the FBI had been charged with illegal wire-tapping in order to obtain evidence of leaks to Moscow of secret information relating to our security. When this was admitted by the prosecutor, the trial judge indicated that evidence thus obtained was illegal and, therefore, inadmissible. In response to an order by Judge Sylvester Ryan, the names of 30 agents who had indulged in reprehensible wire-tapping were supplied by the government.

While the FBIs confessed that, despite the law and decisions of the Supreme Court, they had listened to telephone conversations between Miss Coplon and Gubitchev, it was discovered by chance that the FBI agents had gone so far as to tap conversations illegally between Miss Coplon and her lawyer. Miss Coplon's attorney charged that 81 FBI agents were involved in the investigation of his client. The FBI set the number at 40. Even if the lower figure is correct, it will be seen that, quite aside from the ethics and morals involved, it has cost the taxpayers a pretty penny to pay for the FBI's cynical breach of the law and disregard of every concept of human decency. J. Edgar Hoover is himself a lawyer. He ought to have some notion of the highly privileged nature of the relationship between lawyer and client. He is also presumed to know what the Supreme Court has said about wire-tapping.

The country has not forgotten that it was the FBI agents, under able and courageous leadership, who broke up the kidnaping that was a disgrace to the country a decade ago. We still gratefully remember how, at the risk of their own lives, gallant FBIs shot it out with Public Enemy No. 1, John Dillinger, in the streets of Chicago. The FBI has brought to the bar of justice more than one income-tax dodger of great financial influence and political power. It did notable counter-espionage during the war. But even this proud record cannot serve as a justification of the Bureau's "Peeping Tomism" and door-crack listening in order to pick up envious or malicious gossip to be used against government employees and others who are denied their constitutional right to defend themselves. Nor will it excuse the offenses that have been brought to light in the Coplon case.

If the FBI so disregards legal propriety—to say nothing of common decency—as to tap telephone wires in order to hear what a lawyer and a client may say to each other, then it is time for a free people who never have and, it may be hoped, never will, tolerate a secret police, to abolish the FBI if nothing short of that will keep it within proper bounds. In the circumstances, it is proper to recall that, whereas every other public official of high or low degree is responsible to someone else, the FBI alone seems to have a dangerous immunity from responsibility to some higher authority. Even the President must account to the people for his acts every four years—and in between times to Congress.

No group, especially one set up with the sanction of law, should be allowed to operate as a Mafia. It is undemocratic and dangerous for one man, whoever he may be, to have such powers as J. Edgar Hoover has arrogated to himself. A few years ago, Mr. Hoover characterized wire-tapping as "an archaic and inefficient practice." The federal law forbids wire-tapping, yet on February 2, 1949, Mr. Hoover, in effect, said that the FBI is above the law. The late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes called wire tapping "a dirty business." Today it is even dirtier.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE FREE MAN'S STRAITJACKET

by Alfred Sherrard

PROFESSOR LUDWIG VON MISES has chosen for his latest work a title that might serve as an inspiration for all theoretical economists—*Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*. The book suggested by that title is badly needed. Traditional economics is a powerful instrument of thought and if its pertinence to our current problems is to be appreciated, it must perhaps unblushingly assert jurisdiction over all of human action. The danger of grandiosity in this bold claim is not lessened by Mises' addiction to such terms as "praxeology" and "catallactics"; but grandiosity need not be fatal to a book of almost 900 pages. Certainly the effort to relate economics to the broadest problems of philosophy is admirable. Some of Mises' most interesting passages are those in which he compares the methods of economics with those of history and of the natural sciences. Economics has been too closely confined since the days of the great Victorians and we must look with sympathy on any lengthening of its tether.

HUMAN ACTION: A TREATISE ON ECONOMICS, by Ludwig von Mises (Yale University Press; $10).

At this point, agreement with Mises stops. It is good to give economics more rope. Let it roam. Let it wander into the meadows of philosophy and politics, history and chemistry. But what about the animal itself? What strange beast has Mises let loose in the guise of economics? "Economics shows . . .," he writes: "economics teaches . . .," "economics proves. . . ." Here the reviewer stands on his professional pride. Economics does no such thing. Professor Mises teaches; Professor Mises tries to prove—but his doctrine is his own and is not to be attributed to economics or to economists in general. The point is not that economists disagree among themselves. In so far as there is a common body of economic thought, it is not to be found in this book. Mises expresses admiration for the classical economists—Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill—but he is not of their company.

The classical economists believed in laissez faire, and many of their arguments are still valid. But Professor Mises cannot invoke their authority for such a statement as this: "On the labor market of a market society there are buyers for every supply of labor offered." His analysis of monopoly is by no means in the classical tradition and would be challenged by some of the most conservative contemporary writers. His view that business cycles may be accounted for wholly by misguided banking policy is accepted by only a negligible minority (consisting mainly of Professor Hayek). Mises, as a spokesman for economics, is therefore in a peculiar position when he writes, "The fanaticism with which the supporters of all these nonmonetary doctrines refuse to acknowledge their errors is, of course, a display of political bias." A political bias held in common by Alfred Marshall, Wesley Mitchell, Joseph Schumpeter, John Maurice Clark and Dennis Robertson must indeed be the distilled quintessence of prejudice.

In the most literal sense, as technical economics, *Human Action* is not acceptable. It is a polemic, and must be so judged. For all its ponderosity, it is frivolous—and must seem so especially to those who would welcome a serious conservative work on the subject. Surely there is room—and need—for critical evaluation of the Fair Deal or of the British Labour Party program. Economists of the classical tradition can deliver telling blows against planning in general and against most of its particular manifestations. Yet this book is not likely to convert anyone who is not already at one with its author, and even those who agree may be embarrassed.

Mises seldom deals with the arguments of his opponents in their strongest form. The book is a holocaust of straw men. It is described by its publishers as "the counterweight of Marx's *Das Kapital*, of Lord Keynes's *General Theory*, and of countless other books recommending socialization, planning, credit expansion, and similar panaceas." Aside from the absurdity of lumping Keynes with Marx and socialization with credit expansion, it is noteworthy that Mises confines his attention in the main to the "countless other books." His citations of either Marx or Keynes are scanty in the extreme, although there are abundant sweeping references to "Marxians" and "Keynesians."

Consider, for example, the passage headed "Some Observations on the Underconsumption Bogey and on the Purchasing Power Argument." This is one of the most controversial topics in economics and one on which conservative critics have a rather strong case. What Mises says is, "The underconsumption myth is baseless self-contradictory balderdash." He makes no distinctions. There are no references; not a single name is mentioned. The version of the underconsumption argument that he sets up for demolition is too vague to be accepted by any responsible writer. The word "they," without specification, is Mises' usual indication of his opponents. Presumably it is "they" who are responsible for what he calls "the present-day intentional confusion of all economic concepts." But confusion, intentional or otherwise, is not dimin-

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ished by this method of argument.

In a section of his book titled "The Fight against Error," Professor Mises makes a cogent statement about the conduct of economic discussions. "The problems involved are purely intellectual and must be dealt with as such. It is disastrous to shift them to the moral sphere and to dispose of supporters of opposite ideologies by calling them villains. . . . No better is the propensity, very popular nowadays, to brand supporters of other ideologies as lunatics." Good! But then what are we to make of these remarks in a subsequent chapter: "Complacency, self-righteousness, and hypocrisy delight in scorning the 'dollar-philosophy' of our age. Neurotic reformers, mentally unbalanced literati, and ambitious demagogues take pleasure in indicting 'rationality' and in preaching the gospel of the 'irrational.' In the eyes of these babblers money and calculation are the source of the most serious evils."

This is just a single example of a tone that permeates the volume. "Nonsensical," "arbitrary," "pharisaic self-righteousness," "fanaticism," "muddled by romantic preconceptions," "malicious demagogues"—such terms are habitually used to describe the persons and arguments that Professor Mises rejects. How difficult it is to agree with such a man! Suppose, for example, that one is somewhat skeptical (as this reviewer is) of the possibilities of statistical and mathematical methods in economics. Here is Professor Mises on the subject: "It has been shown already that all attempts to measure economic magnitudes are based on entirely fallacious assumptions and display ignorance of the fundamental principles both of economics and of history."

This hectoring tone is related to a peculiar quality of dogmatism and rigidity in Mises' use of logic. He believes that economics is essentially the application of abstract reasoning to the problems of human action. Yet in spite of this exaltation of logic, Professor Mises' understanding of logical method is fatally deficient.

An example will make this clear. Mises defines "autistic exchange" as action undertaken "without any reference to coöperation with other individuals." This includes "the isolated hunter who kills an animal for his own consumption; he exchanges leisure and a cartridge for food." "Interpersonal exchange" takes place when "man gives to other men in order to receive from them." It is made clear that free gifts, without expectation of return, come under the heading of "autistic exchange." Gifts made to gain favor or reward are considered as "interpersonal exchange." Thus all economic transactions fall into one or the other of these two categories. Whatever is not "autistic" must be "interpersonal," and vice versa. This is inescapable, since no third category is recognized. It is inescapable, that is to say, simply because the set of logical entities we are using happens to consist of two compartments and no more. A system of three or ten or a thousand compartments would be just as valid, as a matter of logic.

Mises, having set up a system with only two categories, tries to draw practical conclusions from the fact that it does not have a third. "It is the essential characteristic of the categories of human action that they are apodictic and absolute and do not admit of any gradation. . . . Although the emergence of interpersonal exchange was the result of a long evolution, no gradual transition is conceivable between autistic and interpersonal exchange. There were no intermediary modes of exchange between them." If we define as "small" all numbers from zero to a million and as "large" all numbers above a million, then of course there are no medium numbers, but this fact is of negligible significance.

Yet Mises repeatedly draws the most sweeping conclusions from arguments of this nature. On inequality of income, for example: "The only alternative to this financial pressure as exercised by the market is direct pressure and compulsion as exercised by the police power." There is no discussion of degrees of inequality or of kinds of pressure and compulsion—simply because a rigid, two-way classification has no room for degrees and kinds. Likewise, he argues that capitalism *cannot* be characterized by monopoly or protectionism. "The concept of capitalism is an economic concept immutable; if it means anything, it means market economy." This is a verbal trap. If society has been changing, it is no longer capitalism. But then it must presumably be socialism, since another piece of two-category logic tells us that, "The question is market economy, or socialism? There is no third solution." Let us be clear that when Mises says, "There is no third solution," he is not arguing about possibilities. He is not saying that intermediate types of economic organization will not actually be able to survive. He is saying by definition that they cannot exist.

Reading this book, one continually has the sense of being argued out of existence. Perhaps the reader has believed that the advertising of quack medicines should be controlled. A case can be made out, Professor Mises agrees. "But whoever is ready to grant to the government this power would be inconsistent if he objected to the demand to submit the statements of churches and sects to the same examination. Freedom is indivisible." What can the reader answer—the man who believes in limited government action, in personal freedom, in piecemeal controls, in public post offices and private automobiles? Of course he may be inconsistent, but not necessarily. Professor Mises does not speak for logic any more than he speaks for economics. There are plenty of unpleasant alternatives in the world, but the particular set of inescapable dilemmas with which Professor Mises confronts us is his own creation. Peter Rabbit had at least three children, and if we find Flopsie and Mopsie equally lugubrious, what is wrong with Cottontail? Logic, at any rate, has no objection.

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STALIN'S NOVELIST

THE STORM, by Ilya Ehrenburg (Gaer Associates; $3.50).

BORROWING TOLSTOY'S old canvas, Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet journalist, novelist and, according to his American publishers, "a writer of the first rank," has painted a new *War and Peace* for our times. *The Storm* is a novel of the German attack upon the world, specifically upon France and Russia, as seen by a man whose understanding of human behavior is superbly clear: all Communists are selfless heroes; everyone else is a fool, a weakling or a scoundrel.

This direct insight into morals and motives has, to be sure, presented the novelist with a technical problem; there is an infinite number of ways in which a man may be a traitor, a libertine or a coward, but the spirit of holy dedication to Stalin is the same for us all. Therefore, while the villains show a certain individuality in this crowded tale, it is quite impossible to distinguish faces among the blessed. But if this is a defect, if it encourages the heathen in his belief that *The Storm* is a gray, unleavened and naïve bore, it is essential to Ehrenburg's purpose. Non-Communists are revealed in the shocking deformities of their private and fragile personalities; the heroes are turned out from one perfect, indestructible mold.

Americans will be struck by Ehrenburg's unsparing portraits of our war correspondents at work. They chew gum, they wear dark glasses and berets, they stroll into the front lines with laughing girls on their arms, they turn to their interpreters and say, "Ask the Major does he know that the United States has been helping them all the time? Half the Russian victories are ours." One Yankee newspaperman in Paris, having wangled dinner at the home of a financial aristocrat to get a story on the Red Menace, winds up his evening by getting drunk and offering the young lady of the house $40 to spend the night with him. What fools we are with money!

The Storm is a novel that tirelessly elaborates a single point; that is written so simply it would not confuse a child of ten. There is just one ambiguous detail: did the publishers check with the author before sending Chapter 20 (in which the Red Army comes to the rescue of the Yugoslav maquis) to press? Surely that section has been rewritten by now to make it clear that these underground patriots are none of Tito's cattle. It would be fascinating to know exactly who they were. ROBERT HATCH

GHOSTS AND WOMEN

THE NOTEBOOKS OF MALTE LAURIDS BRIGGE, by Rainer Maria Rilke. Translated by M. D. Herter Norton (W. W. Norton; $3.50).

RILKE AND BENVENUTA, by Magda von Hattingberg. Translated by Cyrus Brooks (W. W. Norton; $3).

RAINER MARIA RILKE was an oversensitive, tortured man who wore a mask as a guard against the world. When writing of his own strange interior world he tried to conceal his identity behind the name of a fictitious character, a "young, insignificant" Dane, Malte Laurids Brigge. In an explanatory note at the end of Mrs. Herter Norton's superb translation of the famous *Notebooks*, Rilke is quoted as saying that "one of the reasons why M. L. Brigge was made a Dane [is] because only in the atmosphere of the Scandinavian countries does the ghost appear ranged among the possible experiences and admitted." It was the sensation of the ghost that appealed to Rilke. He lived by sensation, and fear—fear not so much of the supernatural as of the natural, not so much of life as of death.

In Paris, where most of this book was written, what Brigge sees are hospitals, maternity homes, diseased children, streets reeking of "odioform, of the grease of pommes frites, of fear." In his hotel room his ears endure the clanging of traffic, the banging of doors, the steps of people on the stairs, voices next door. Then "a dog barks. What a relief: a dog." Once, after pondering on his fear of leaving this world for another: "If anything has to change at all," Brigge remarks, "I would like at least to be able to live among dogs, who possess a world akin to our own. . . ." He should perhaps have said *his* own, for there cannot be many human beings for whom objects and smells *live* as they did for Malte Brigge; and probably no writer but Rilke could create a whole world out of a tin can—which he hasn't even seen! The lasting delight of the *Notebooks*, however, is Rilke's evocation of childhood—of rooms and the seasons seen through the child's eye, of the aunts and uncles, the servants, the crazy father, and of the mother who fed herself through a straw because she feared needles, who passed on to him her passion for lace, and who had wanted him to be a girl. . . .

One of the remarkable things about Rilke was the adoration he both enjoyed and endured from women. This reviewer has lived in no great city without having been introduced to at least one lady who "was a friend of Rilke's, you know." One such lady is Magda von Hattingberg, a German pianist whom the poet called Benvenuta and who in January, 1914, wrote him a fan letter. "I am convinced," she told him, "that my love for the 'Tales of the Almighty' is greater than anyone else's in the world." To ladies Rilke was no good at saying No. In the first of many long and embarrassingly gushing letters, he is already "devoted" to her. In March they meet and travel to Paris in whose parks "black nursemaids," observes Benvenuta in her diary, "are everywhere. They are reputed to be loyal and docile. Possibly, but I would much rather see children in other keeping." In her keeping Rilke seems to have been rendered so loyal and docile that he doesn't do a stroke of work. In May they part. The last time she sees him is in a street in Vienna. "The bright eyes lit up suddenly with alarm and he looked at me with an expression of torment and unutterable dismay." Were the poet

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alive to read "Rilke and Benvenuta," these words, one feels, would describe perfectly his expression.

JAMES STERN

BRIEF COMMENT

Five Novels of Ronald Firbank. Introduction by Sir Osbert Sitwell (New Directions; $5).

The five novels are *Valmouth, The Flower Beneath the Foot, The Artificial Princess, The Eccentricities of Cardinal Pirelli* and (by far the best, in a class by itself) *Prancing Nigger.* Their republication is designed to lift Ronald Firbank from the small coterie that has jealously preserved his reputation since his death in the twenties and deliver him to the "thousands" who "will enter his strange world with shouts of joyful discovery." It is doubtful whether his strange world is large enough to accommodate crowds, but this volume should tempt a number to make short excursions.

Each brief novel is placed in a fanciful, luxuriant and overheated land as substantial as a lavish ballet set. They are inhabited by appropriate figures ("her Dreaminess the Queen," "his Weariness the Prince") whose actions are gestures and whose speech is largely sighs and innuendo, the sequence of which is of absolutely no importance. What Osbert Sitwell calls the "exquisite inconsequence" of these books forces the attention where it is most rewarded —to the phrase. But this kind of writing is almost inevitably uneven, and Firbank at his incomparable best is too readily matched by Firbank at his arch and trivial worst.

The elements which between them control the tone of these books are religion and eroticism. The religion is a parody of an opulent, fashionable and corrupt Catholicism ("I've had my tiara-stones turned into a reliquary"; "Why should the Church charge *higher* for a short *Magnificat* than for a long *Miserere?*"). The eroticism is of the semitropical variety, and when the two combine ("he was . . . known as Chief-dancing-choir-boy to the cathedral") there are hints of vice which in Firbank's context is only quaintly "wicked."

Thomas Hardy, by Albert J. Guérard (Harvard University Press; $3.50).

Guérard's book is admittedly incomplete. It is the first of three studies (the others proposed are of Conrad and Gide) which together will "tell us something of what happened to the realistic novel, to our old plausible world, and to ourselves." It may be hoped so; meanwhile, Hardy's pedigree as a direct ancestor of the modern novel seems insubstantial.

As a revaluation of Hardy, which the present volume claims to be, it is closer to a skillful argument for his claims to attention. But, at least to one who has always read Hardy with difficulty and no pleasure, Guérard's ingenuity redounds more to his own credit than to his subject's. And his perspicacity defeats his ingenuity when he summarizes "Hardy's last meaning, as a novelist" and concludes that it is, "as I am compelled to see it, a false one." J. F.

MUSIC: Messiaen's Complex

OLIVIER MESSIAEN, the 41-year-old French composer who came to Tanglewood last summer to teach at the Berkshire Music Center, in no way resembles the popular image of a composer. He is academic and withdrawn in his manner and drab in his dress; visitors who saw him on the grounds at Tanglewood could never have guessed that the brain behind those round, old-fashioned spectacles had just completed a ten-movement symphony long enough to fill a concert.

This gargantuan work, entitled "Turangalîla-Symphony, for Piano, Onde Martenot, and Orchestra," was unveiled last month by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in a performance conducted with fabulous zeal and skill by Leonard Bernstein. "Turangalîla," the program book explained, is "a poetic word of the Indian language, meaning a love song, with connotations of rhythm." All ten movements of the symphony are about love, and those that are not called "Turangalîla I" and "Turangalîla II" are called "Love Song I" and "Love Song II," or, somewhat more specifically, "Garden of the Sleep of Love"

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and "Development of Love." The fifth movement, at the halfway point, is called "Joy in the Blood of the Stars," and is "the peak of carnal passion expressed in a long and frenetic dance of joy."

Obviously this is not a symphony in the accepted sense. Neither is it an attempt to revert to the splashy, decorative Orientalism of late Romantic program music. Messiaen is endeavoring, with fanatic belief in the efficacy of the procedure, to bring Oriental music and esthetics within the purview of Western music. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he is trying to influence and redirect Western music by imposing Oriental modes and esthetics upon it.

In "Turangalîla," most of the melodies are based upon Hindu scales and formed according to Hindu principles of tone arrangements. The rhythmic structure of the music is also Oriental in basis. Three and four rhythmic patterns frequently occur at the same time, making extremely complex metrical counterpoints that suggest the most sophisticated intellectualizations of the intricate, centuries-old Hindu *ragas*. These melodic and rhythmic devices are not shallow surface imitations. They are applications of basic theory, employed with the same integrity a stage director might use if he sought to capture the flexibility and illusion of the Chinese theatre without indulging in mere *chinoiserie*.

Mixed up with these Oriental elements, in a highly personal stylistic jumble, are all sorts of ideas derived from nearer home. The melodies, for all their Oriental modality, frequently sound like Massenet or the sirupy tunes of Guilmant, Widor and Bonnet—the French organists from whom Messiaen (an organist) is a lineal descendant. The harmony sounds like Fauré, Ravel and Scriabin. The conventional symphonic ensemble of the West and the percussion instruments of the Balinese *gamelan* orchestra are brought together in a vast melange, and the *coupe de grâce* is given by the superheterodyne wails of the *onde martenot*, an unearthly electronic invention capable of shrieking out a wavy melodic line at the top volume of which electrical current is capable.

Messiaen has put too much machinery to work for him, and the result is cheap beyond description. The shoddiest composer in Hollywood would count himself lucky to achieve half the vulgar excitation of the "Development of Love" section. Seldom in the history of music has a composer of such superb talent and craft manufactured so revolting a product.

Yet loathsome as the "Turangalîla-Symphony" is in its own right, we must view its composer with respect and open-mindedness. For Messiaen is rapidly becoming one of the most influential musical figures in the postwar international musical scene. He has imported from the Orient the conviction that music should be static. A piece of music, he believes, does not have to go anywhere. It does not *become*; it *is*. Its purpose is the evocation of moods and mystical experiences, not the development of given subject matter. This concept of staticism in music is revolutionary, for it throws out the window the whole German classic and Romantic tradition, which assumes that a piece of music consists of the development of musical ideas from a beginning through a climactic middle to a resolution at the end.

A good many young composers in France, and a few of the *avant-garde* in the United States, are thinking long thoughts about Messiaen's principle of staticism. Obviously they do not have to imitate Messiaen's style in order to espouse his philosophy. Whatever historical position he may ultimately assume, Messiaen is the Composer of the Year. He has given composers new impetus and a fresh outlook.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Tears and Laughter

BECAUSE IT ATTEMPTS to cope honorably with a tragedy of dreams and fears, "Give Us This Day" falls in naturally with that small group of pictures—notably "All the King's Men," "Lost Boundaries" and "The Bicycle Thief"—which have enriched the screen in the half-year just ended. But it is an association by intent only; this picture, based on Pietro di Donato's *Christ in Concrete*, lacks the quality to justify its demands. It makes you suffer and gives you no nourishment in return.

It is perhaps unfair to localize the failure of "Give Us This Day," but it at least seems to reside in Sam Wanamaker. His role is central; he is Geremio the bricklayer, the proletarian hero, and the tragedy is the destruction of his hope. Specifically, he wants to buy a house for his family; more deeply, he is tortured by insignificance, by the fear that his birth and death are to make no difference. It is a common nightmare, but Wanamaker can only state it; he cannot convey it. Wanamaker is a player in whom acting appears to be a mechanical skill learned by rote. The movies are full of such men and women of arresting appearance; docile and quick, they are admirable when they are doing something, but collapse when they are asked to be someone. Wanamaker is entirely plausible as a sturdy bricklayer, an ingratiating bridegroom, a gentle father and a bewildered coward, but when he is required to be the man of whom all these are attributes, he gapes and shifts his feet. Thus tragedy, which applies to us all, becomes mawkishness, which is specific and accidental. Thus we leave the theatre resenting the tears we have shed.

Edward Dmytryk has surrounded Wanamaker with men of his own caliber—character actors deft with "business" but so incapable of projecting what could be genuine emotion that one receives their efforts with cold eyes. But for a wife he has been given Lea Padovani, and, in so far

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as she can, she transforms the picture. She does not wear her role like a coat, but creates it from what she understands of the joy of love, of disillusion, bitterness and the determination to survive. The story would have succeeded if it had been Miss Padovani's to tell.

"Give Us This Day" is a production anomaly—a movie laid in America but made in England. The Rank studios have carried off this reversal of the usual make-believe very creditably. The East Side New York tenements are authentically squalid and only two or three of the supporting cast have noticeable difficulty with their vowels.

"Adam's Rib" opens with a breakfast-in-bed scene in which it is discovered that Spencer Tracy and his wife, Katharine Hepburn, are so deliciously in love that they address each other by the same pet name—Pinky, it sounded like. The picture's curtain line is *"Vive la différence,"* from a risqué French anecdote current here about 1924. The footage between these not strikingly original conceits is taken up in part by the risible courtroom antics of assistant district attorney Tracy and counsel for the defense Hepburn, opponents in a case of husband-shooting. The humor in these passages is also not freshly minted, but it will pass the time, if that's your problem. The balance of the picture, which observes the Tracy-Hepburns at home, is plain embarrassing.

It must be that Hollywood writes its happy marriages to match the feverish imaginations of the unwed. The script of "Adam's Rib" calls for Tracy to vibrate like a violin string every time Hepburn walks by or throws him a nasal coo, and his trick of dragging her into a closet to press upon her his nameless intimacies makes the whole business of marriage a little furtive. There is a word, too, for women who win their arguments with their negligees, and it doesn't come up much in successful unions. All in all, the couple make a fine pair of lawyers, but their domestic life is more Minsky than Montclair.

Judy Holliday, as the dumb wife on the warpath, is funny in short takes; David Wayne, as a too friendly friend of the family, is almost more repulsive than necessary.

It is no good reviewing "Tight Little Island"; it would fall to pieces in the process. Admirers of the dry flavor of good British humor, provided they have no strong antipathy to quantities of liquor, are certain to be richly entertained by this picture and quite at a loss to say why. Its nearest kin is "Passport to Pimlico," but it is a better picture because it is less cluttered with plot machinery, more guileless in its good nature.

The scene is an island of the Outer Hebrides, the crisis is the failure of the whisky supply, and the adventure begins when the natives decide to assist a friendly providence. Basil Radford, at the top of his obfuscated form, is the very English butt of the canny Scots, and Joan Greenwood and Gabrielle Blunt are two of the most exciting girls American moviegoers have seen for some time. The Compton Mackenzie story has been directed with offhand gayety by Alexander Mackendrick, who has the right name for the job. "Tight Little Island" is a foolish frolic done as perfectly as such things must be to succeed at all.

"Battle of the Rails," the French railroad workers' salute to their sabotage activities during the German Occupation, is an amateur picture that can scarcely succeed in America. It is easy to sympathize with the men's impulse to advertise their share in the Resistance and to approve the distribution of profits to families of railroad workers killed in the war, but it is impossible to become interested in the flimsy and unconvincing "plot" of this semi-documentary or to accept the men who play in it as actors. Charles Boyer contributes a well-read introduction.

ROBERT HATCH

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